2: Schaden--13 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 [648] Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented upon. [101] I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory: a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Nandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally based on the belief [825] quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 167 [773] [787] They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafliguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a relatively recent group that came in 1912. [361] Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/12 cont./
175 361 [162] In 1910 about 500 Guaranís lived there, who later totally, or almost totally, dispersed (15).

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./ One of my principal informants comes from there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Maneco do Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there is a note by me among those that accompany "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaranís by Curt Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-56). [115] [114]

175 167 [361] The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change because of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste /Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Feio. The episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accompanying some of these Guaranís, [361] is well known. The band later settled in Araribá, where today the Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú is found.

The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbüá from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around 1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived in 1946, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory contiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. [361] Of these three bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo; the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra do Itariri.

2: Schaden--15 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides,
[114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and
[187] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that
[361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi-
[177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions.
[182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.
361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality,
162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde
175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the
167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

2: Schaden--16 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

• [162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes: [648] Tafiguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 240 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dis-[166] solution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal

621 162 166 in June of 1948 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestiços), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestiços. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the en-[768] tire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because [755] of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treat-[464] ments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazenda in the Itanhaém region.

621 182 [563] Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase: the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.

621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

2: Schaden--17 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1982 S344 Guarani S344

/15 cont./

62 [433 [578 supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361 Itariri, in the Serra dos Itatins, between Peruíbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile [563 I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestiço with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbüá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the ñanderú Miguel lived in the village; they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Itatins. Among these Mbüá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361 Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago. [162 When I knew it in 1940 the population present was 50 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be- [563 longed to the Mbüá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestiço woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco [186 Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them. [484 They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

2: Schaden--18 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
[177] quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
935 and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
433 nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
[464] lage.

[84] In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
[157] women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
[177] Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The re-
sults are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[114] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
[62] post, besides some mestiços. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
[177] tion of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueí-
621 rinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
162 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá sub-
group and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio
Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the
dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very
close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others
from Palmeirinha. The village -- tôldo, as it is called there --
made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó
and Xapecózinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
[114] portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/
Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at
tillage as day laborers.

2: Schaden--19 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the post, with some mestiços among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments. The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too, the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. -- I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949). Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso, Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

2: Schaden--20 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians [62] were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Perê), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Ñuverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1948.

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Iguatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other side of the /18/ border; some even say they were born in Vila Iguatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be pure Indian, but creole mestizo. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

161 131 648 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

2: Schaden--224 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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/174 cont./ the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example, where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hopefully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

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The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized population of the region has taken place in a quite different direction. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, however, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

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4: Watson--1 E-5 (1943) 1944 SM4 Guarani SM4 Cayua

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101 The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of 241 Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today, 361 live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations 657 of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on 101 the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

122 1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

121 Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

175 In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-797 speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil 361 into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came [162] in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

/31 cont./
second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled, the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000 Indians (2).

2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settlement of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with attention paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the undertaking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the Jesuits (3).

3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in which they have had more and more intense contact with the white population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

CG 175 484

/313 cont./ The exploration of Alvar Núnez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

CG 175 169 484 [162]

I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

CG 114 175 169 484 174

Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco. These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

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5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

101 131 [175]

Guayaná of São Paulo and Paraná, who were *Caingang* Indians (Azara, 1904, p. 406).

Modern *Cainguá* (*Caaiguá*) are divided into three groups:

(1) The *Mbyá* (*Mbwiha, Ava-mbihá, Caayguá, Apyterã, Baticola*), who occupy the forested spurs of the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 25°–27° S., long. 55° W.) and the region around Corpus in the Argentine territory of Misiones. Groups of *Mbyá* (or *Cainguá*) are even more widely scattered in Mato Grosso and in the States of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul.

(2) The *Chiripá*, who live south of the Jejuá-guazú River and are also reported on the right and left sides of the upper Paraná River, along the Yuytorocaí River and north of the Iguassú River (lat. 25° S., long. 54°–56° W.).

(3) The *Paĩ'* (*Terenõhẽ*), who live north of the Jejui-guazú River.

Of these three groups, the *Mbyá* have remained the closest to their ancient *Guaraní* culture; the *Chiripá* are the most acculturated.

There are also several groups of *Cainguá* or *Guaraní* in Brazil. The *Apapocuva* (lat. 24° S., long. 54° W.) regard themselves as distinct from the Paraguayan *Cainguá* although they are closely related to them. Before they started in 1870 trekking east in search of the Land-Without-Evil (see below, p. 93), they lived on the lower Iguatemí River, in the southern tip of the State of Mato Grosso. In 1912, 200 still lived on the Iguatemí River; about 200 in the reservation of Araribá, in the State of São Paulo; 100 on the Rio das Cinzas, in the State of Paraná; about 70 in Potrero Guazú, in Mato Grosso; and about 40 at the mouth of the Ivahí River. The *Tañyguá*, who also made this trek, resided on the Paraná River near the Iguatemí River (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.). After a long migration which took them to the Atlantic Coast, they became established on the Rio de Peixe and the Itariry River, where a few of them still remained in 1912.

101 131 167 175 [162]

The ancient habitat of the *Oguauíva*, from which they migrated toward the Ocean in 1830, was situated near the Serra de Maracayú (lat. 24° S., long 54° W.). In 1912, 100 *Oguauíva* lived in the reservation of Araribá, and 40 near the coast.

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The other *Cainguá* groups who, according to Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293), lived in southern Brazil about 1912 were: The *Cheiru*,[1] near the mouth of the Iguatemí; the *Avahuguai*, on the Dourados; the *Paiguaçu*, on the Curupaynã River (Mato Grosso); the *Yvytyiguá*, opposite the Serra do Diabo, in the State of Paraná; the *Avachiripá*, on the left side of the Paraná (State of Paraná); the *Catanduva Jatahy*, in the same State.

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The *Apapocuva*, *Tañyguá*, *Oguauíva*, and *Cheiru* are regarded as *Guaraní* whereas the *Avahuguai*, *Paiguaçu*, *Yvytyiguá*, *Avachiripá*, and

[1] There are also *Cheiru* in Paraguay near the Guaira Falls.

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/7 cont./ By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

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14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

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16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

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4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

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It should also be added that this group has a certain importance on the regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse socio-cultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

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The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

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Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

[Buriti]

/95 cont./ for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives; b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito, subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos, with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably alongside the Kaiwá.